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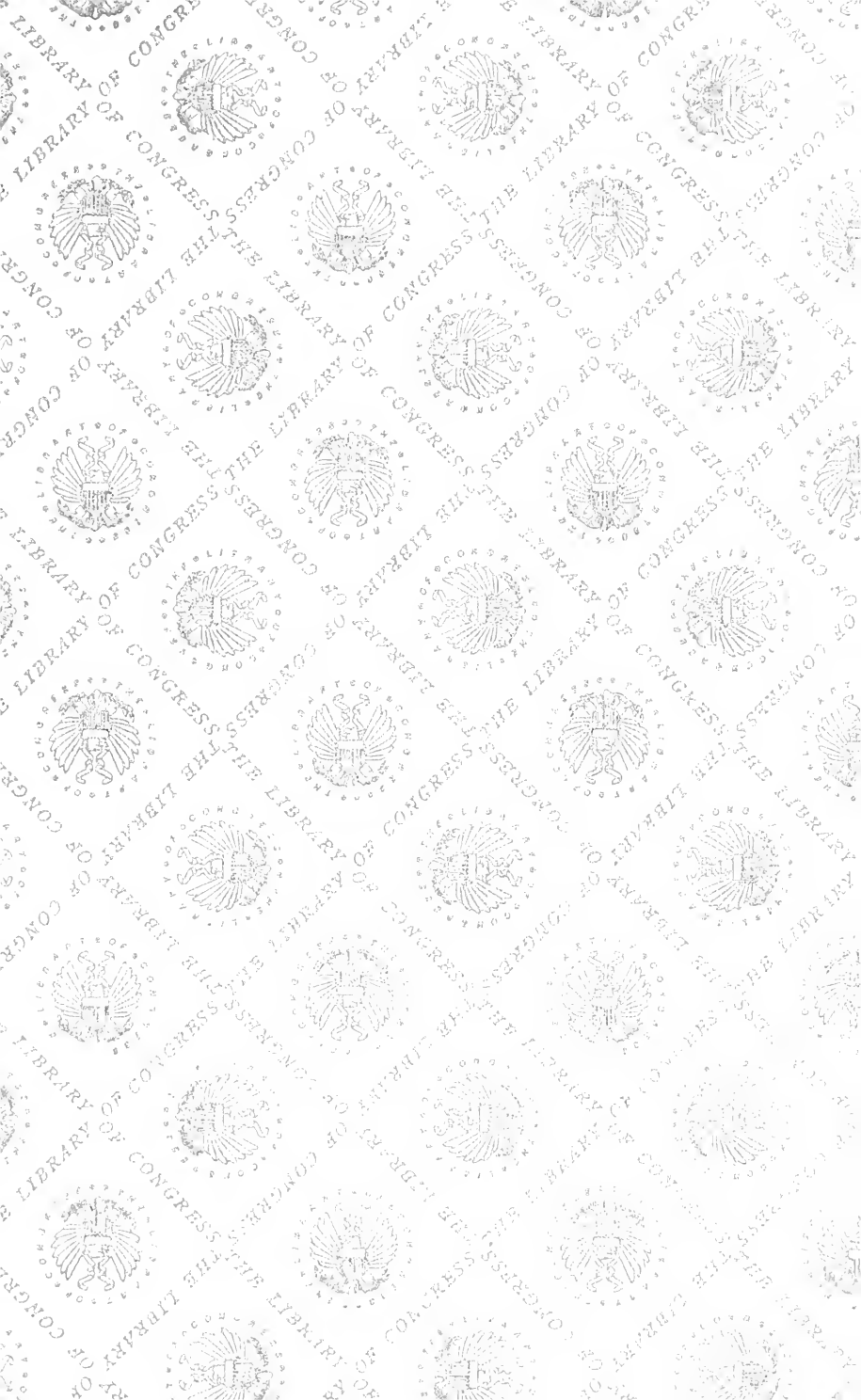
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# ADDRESS

OF THE

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UNION STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

OF PENNSYLVANIA.



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# ADDRESS

OF THE

## UNION STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

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TO THE PEOPLE OF PENNSYLVANIA :

The day is rapidly approaching upon which you will be called to choose between rival candidates for the high offices of Governor of the Commonwealth, and Judge of its Supreme Judicial tribunal. To the one is to be committed the executive power of your great and noble State, and to the other a weighty voice in deciding questions closely affecting your most sacred rights of persons and of property.

To an intelligent exercise of your right of suffrage, it is very necessary that you should clearly understand the difference between the party whose nominees are Andrew G. Curtin and Daniel H. Agnew and the party whose nominees are George W. Woodward and Walter H. Lowrie. It is, therefore, in obedience to a custom, wise and time-honored, that you are addressed by the official representatives of each organization in behalf of their respective principles and candidates.

It is not vague commonplace but solemn truth to say, that there never was a political contest in America whose issues were so important and so vital to the life of the republic as are those involved in the pending canvass. In other days we pru-

dently occupied our minds with questions of State policy, local alike in their interest and their influence; but to-day the citizens of Pennsylvania ascend to the higher and broader ground whereon the nation struggles for its life, and the ballots of free-men were never more weighty with great consequences than those now resting in their hands, containing, as they probably do, not only the question of civil war at our own homes, not only the fate of our Constitution and Union, but the destiny of free government throughout the world.

It is a source, therefore, of profound gratitude with all reflecting men that, while all the gentlemen in nomination bear characters alike honorable and without stain, thus entitling them to the fullest presumption of honest motives and conscientious convictions, yet the lines of division are drawn with such distinctness, the policy proposed is so plainly different, and the principles avowed so radically hostile, that no man of ordinary intelligence need hesitate in his choice.

The history of America before our civil war began, is read and known of all men. In the years of our colonization, we were obedient to the plain purpose of God in reserving this continent as a theatre whereon the capacity of the human race for self-government should be fully and fairly tested; and the men to whom was entrusted the great experiment in civilization fitly builded their infant States upon the principles of civil and religious liberty.

When the condition of colonial dependency ceased to protect these principles, the scattered settlements came together in the presence of a common danger, and in the interest of human freedom declared their independence. Joseph Warren, proto-martyr of the Revolution, writing, just before his death, to Quincy, says:—"I am convinced that the true spirit of liberty



was never so universally diffused *through all ranks and conditions of men* on the face of the earth as it now is through all North America."

In this spirit and for this cause our fathers endured seven weary years of unequal warfare, and that their children to the third and fourth generation should understand the purpose of the great struggle in the calm peace which followed victory, they solemnly engraved it above the entrance to the sources of the fundamental law, declaring it to be, "To secure the blessings of liberty to the people and to their posterity."

The government of the United States, thus plainly established to preserve the liberties of its people, contained an element of weakness and discord in the recognition of the legal existence of slavery. It was believed, however, that this evil would soon disappear, and Jefferson vied with Franklin in his efforts to secure a result earnestly desired by all good men. In the course of a few years it was confined nominally, as it had long really been, to the States lying south of the line of Mason and Dixon: and patriots of all parties rejoiced in the hope of its speedy and total disappearance.

This reasonable hope was destined to disappointment. In 1820, the first great concession was demanded by the slaveholding interest at the hands of the national Legislature, and for the sake of harmony Missouri was admitted into the Union as a slave State. Then followed other and greater demands in favor of slavery, urged with increasing arrogance; and notwithstanding the wonderful prosperity which, like a benediction, attended the North, and the stagnation and decay which began to cover and cling like a curse to the lands tilled by enforced and unpaid labor, a party, small in numbers, but great in the intellectual powers of its leaders and devoted to the de-

fence and propagandism of American slavery, by the free and alternate use of flattery and threats, wrung obedience to its requirements from the unwilling hands of American statesmen.

What followed is a thrice-told tale. The admission of new slave States; the annexation of Texas; the war with Mexico; the consequent accession of great territories in the southwest; the compromise legislation of 1850, including the Fugitive Slave law; the repeal of the Missouri compromise; the lawless invasion of Kansas by the ruffians of the southern border, with its attendant slaughter of peaceful northern settlers; and the culminating efforts of the administration of Mr. Buchanan, to force by the bayonet a pro-slavery constitution, whose provisions were disgraceful to civilized human nature, upon the heroic people of that devoted territory. What were all these but the successive steps in the long and painful descent, whereby the conservative, law-abiding people of the North vainly endeavored to appease and even to satisfy the constant aggressions of their slaveholding brethren!

The political history of America for forty years is written in this brief statement of concessions to slavery. We had done much to please its friends. We had surrendered, almost without the forms of protest, the chief executive offices of the nation to their keeping. They were filled either by themselves, or by those Northern gentlemen whom they graciously selected for the merit of prompt and unquestioning obedience to their commands. The judicial branch of the government, entrusted with the construction of the Federal charter, and the consequent abrogation, when necessary, of all laws, State and national, was composed of judges of their choice. The representatives of the nation at the Courts of Europe had been trained with their training. The conservative branch of the national Legislature was unquestionably under their control.

We had parted with many plain rights to satisfy them. We endured the utter denial of free speech, and even of unmolested travel in the Southern States. We waived the protection of the Federal law, which should have covered us as with a shield, everywhere beneath the Federal flag, and consented to receive instead the jurisdiction of ruffianly mobs, bred and fostered in slavery. We saw without complaint the North made a vast hunting-ground for fugitives from bondage. We accepted with meekness the constant taunts of our social and political inferiority. We permitted our representatives to be threatened with personal violence in the streets of the capital. We stifled our just and sacred wrath when a Northern Senator, graced with all generous culture and bearing the commission of a free commonwealth, was beaten by slaveholders to the verge of death on the floor of the Senate, for words spoken for liberty in debate. Enduring all in patience, for the sake of peace and union we sat in quiet obedience to the law, unwilling but submissive pupils, receiving lessons of chivalric honor from Mr. Brooks, and of chivalric manners from Mr. Wigfall, of loyalty from Mr. Davis, and of honesty from Mr. Floyd.

At last, in the year of grace 1860, the Constitution afforded to the citizens of the land the privilege of again expressing by their votes their choice of national rulers. They exercised that right quietly, peaceably, and in perfect obedience to the form and the spirit of all our laws.

The lawful discharge of this high duty, imposed upon all good men by their country, was declared by a few bad, bold men, to be just cause of civil war. This proposition involved, of course, the startling doctrine that Northern men must vote in the interest of slavery, or its friends would appeal from the ballot to the bullet, destroy the Constitution, dissolve the Union, and deluge all the land with its most precious blood.

It must be remembered that the Senate, without whose consent no law can be enacted, was pro-slavery. The Supreme Court, against whose judgment no law, if enacted, could avail, was pro-slavery. There was, therefore, no danger possible to the institution; and it was simply because once in forty years the people had lawfully chosen a President who was believed to be opposed to further concessions to slavery, that an embittered and malignant faction, who had been long nursing their treason, declared their purpose to cause to flow all the terrible evils following in the train of this cruel war, which has wasted our substance and placed our chiefest treasures beneath the seals of clay. The utter groundlessness of their complaints, and the want of even a decent pretext for their threatened crime against their country, was placed in full light before the world when Alexander H. Stephens spoke to the people of Georgia those memorable words, which history will always remember, sealing with the seal of lasting condemnation this wicked and causeless rebellion.

“WHAT RIGHT HAS THE NORTH ASSAILED? WHAT INTEREST OF THE SOUTH HAS BEEN INVADED? WHAT JUSTICE HAS BEEN DENIED? OR WHAT CLAIM FOUNDED ON JUSTICE OR RIGHT HAS BEEN WITHHELD? CAN EITHER OF YOU TO-DAY NAME ONE GOVERNMENTAL ACT OF WRONG DELIBERATELY AND PURPOSELY DONE BY THE GOVERNMENT AT WASHINGTON OF WHICH THE SOUTH HAS A RIGHT TO COMPLAIN? I CHALLENGE AN ANSWER!”

While the ablest statesman of the south was endeavoring with words like these to stay the hands of traitors raised to dishonor our flag, to destroy our government, and to afflict us with the awful sufferings of civil strife, the Honorable George W. Woodward, then and now a Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, deliberately disrobed himself of his ermine, and

walking from the seat of judgment to the platform of a great meeting assembled in Independence Square, ground sacred to freedom, spoke, and over and beyond his audience to the maddened partisans of slavery, ripe for revolt and battle, these words of sympathy with their baseless and pretended wrongs : “EVERYWHERE IN THE SOUTH THE PEOPLE ARE BEGINNING TO LOOK OUT FOR THE MEANS OF SELF-DEFENCE. COULD IT BE EXPECTED THAT THEY WOULD BE INDIFFERENT TO SUCH SCENES AS HAVE OCCURRED?—THAT THEY WOULD STAND IDLE AND SEE MEASURES CONCERTED AND CARRIED FORWARD FOR THE ANNIHILATION, SOONER OR LATER, OF THEIR PROPERTY IN SLAVES? SUCH EXPECTATIONS, IF INDULGED, ARE NOT REASONABLE.”

And these words of encouragement, exaggerating the source of strength of which they boasted most : “WHEN YOU COMBINE ALL IN ONE GLOWING PICTURE OF NATIONAL PROSPERITY, REMEMBER THAT COTTON, THE PRODUCE OF SLAVE LABOR, HAS BEEN ONE OF THE INDISPENSABLE ELEMENTS OF ALL THIS PROSPERITY—IT MUST BE AN INDISPENSABLE ELEMENT IN ALL OUR FUTURE PROSPERITY. I SAY IT MUST BE.”

And these sad words, sounding like an invitation to treason : “*The law of self-defence includes right of property as well as person, and it appears to me there must be a time in the progress of this conflict, if it indeed is irrepressible, when slaveholders may lawfully fall back on their natural rights, and employ in defence of their property whatever means of protection they possess or can command. They who push on this conflict have convinced one or more Southern States that it has already come.*”

And these sadder words of attempted consecration of that fearful combining of crimes against God and all his creatures which is called American slavery : “*The Providence of that*

*good Being who has watched over us from the beginning and saved us from external foes, has so ordered our internal relations as to make negro slavery an incalculable blessing to us. Whoever will study the Patriarchal and Levitical institutions, will see the principle of human bondage divinely sanctioned if not divinely ordained."*

The address thus delivered went forth with the added weight of judicial sanction, and, aided by many others of kindred import, produced its legitimate effect in convincing the traitors who had hesitated that a large and influential portion of the Northern people were heartily with them in spirit, and only awaited fitting opportunity to become active accomplices in their treason. Then followed in necessary sequence the bombardment of Fort Sumter, and the opening of that great historic drama whose shadow, after two weary years of sacrifice of treasure and of life, still darkens all our land; whose sorrows have reached all our hearts, and whose terrible consequences to the cause of American democracy and of Christian civilization itself as yet we very dimly comprehend.

For those words, and only for those words, thus early, publicly, and distinctly spoken, tendering sympathy, encouragement, invitation, consecration even, to the cause of the rebellion, Judge Woodward has been placed in nomination as a candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania, and the opinions there expressed have been distinctly reaffirmed, and made the present platform of his supporters: the Hon. Charles J. Biddle, their official representative, in his recent address to the people of the State, declaring "*this speech to have been vindicated by subsequent events as a signal exhibition of statesmanlike sagacity.*"

The faction in Pennsylvania, wearing the livery of the good old Democratic party to aid rebellion waged in the interest of

an aristocracy of slaveholders, thus openly avows its opinions, and in manifold ways, by speech and press, by the secret oaths of a treasonable conspiracy, by appeals to the prejudices of ignorant men, by calumnies against our brave soldiers and sailors, by denial of their rights of suffrage, and by constant misrepresentations of the aims and results of the war, endeavors to attain its purpose of assisting the armed traitors who are striking deadly blows at the heart of the republic.

Our opponents well know that the only strength of the rebellion consists in its military power. Therefore they oppose every measure which tends to strengthen the national armies, and they support every measure which tends to weaken them. If the general government proposes to require white men to render military service, they oppose it as unconstitutional and oppressive. If the general government proposes to require black men to render military service, they oppose it as unconstitutional and favoring negro equality. If the general government proposes to require red men to render military service, they oppose it as unconstitutional and contrary to the usages of civilized warfare; and they have thus far failed to discover among the races of mankind any people whose skin is of the proper constitutional color to permit the government to use them to shoot rebels and traitors.

Our opponents denounce the arrest of disloyal persons as violating personal liberty. They denounce the suppression of disloyal practices as indicating military tyranny. They thwart the needed reinforcements of our wasted armies, and the collection of the national revenue by base appeals to the basest impulses of men, and the inauguration of riot, rapine and murder, bringing the terrors of civil war to our very hearthstones. Thus, by paralyzing the strength and vigor of the

mailed hand of the nation, they give essential aid and comfort to the nation's enemies. Their cardinal principle is to embarrass the Federal administration in all its measures for the vigorous prosecution of the conflict, for the prompt suppression of the rebellion and the swift punishment of traitors.

It is needless to say that their triumph in the pending canvass would *prolong the war*. It is confessed at Richmond that the only relief afforded to the darkness and disasters which enshroud the rebel capital, and the only encouragement to continue a hopeless contest, comes with the occasional gleams of successes of their Northern allies.

On all other sides despair awaits them. They see two-thirds of their territory conquered and held in subjection; New Orleans returned to its allegiance; the Mississippi open; all their harbors blockaded; Charleston assailed; Rosecrans and Burnside moving in triumph, and the great struggle which embraced more than half the Union narrowing to Georgia, South Carolina, and portions of North Carolina and Virginia. The end is not distant. It can only be delayed, and the way to it piled with the bodies of the brave men who willingly taste death for their country, by the triumph of Northern sympathizers with treason at the approaching elections. Such triumph would revive the desperate and drooping fortunes of the rebels, inspirit their demoralized and deserting armies, and persuade their rulers to renewed efforts to gather and hurl new levies upon our defenders in the field.

It follows necessarily that the triumph of our opponents, by prolonging the war, will render necessary *renewed conscriptions, and increase the burdens of taxation*. One way only leads to a short war, and a lasting peace, and that is the glorious path along which Rosecrans is marching, and Banks, and



Grant and Meade. Everything which tends, directly or indirectly, to weaken or embarrass these blessed peace-makers is comforting to the enemy, inducing them to refuse submission to the laws, and to continue to waste more of our treasure and murder others of our sons. The future will lay the responsibility of lengthening this horrible conflict, with whatever of sacrifice its continuance involves, upon those Northern men who supply its want of bullets by their ballots, and by their sympathy nerve its arm for further blows.

To these principles, to this policy, to the results they so plainly involve, of *a long war, of other drafts and of more heavy taxes*, as well as to the candidates who represent them, the loyal men of Pennsylvania are irreconcilably opposed.

Our platform is brief and plain and comprehensive. We believe that the will of the people, lawfully expressed, is the supreme law; that no appeal can be permitted from votes to bayonets, and that when such appeal is made, the only hope for the Republic is to crush it by force of arms. We, therefore, support the war without limitations or conditions as the only means of preserving the national integrity.

We honor and sustain our heroic brethren in arms, on land and sea, the unselfish heroism whose daily lives surpasses all that is written in the knightly romance of the middle age. They deserve well of their country, and we desire that the banner of the Union shall carry to its defenders, wherever they may be, the right of suffrage—the inestimable privilege of freemen.

We heartily sustain Abraham Lincoln, the President of the United States, in his efforts to suppress this wicked revolt against the laws he has sworn to enforce.

For the vigorous use of all men and all means permitted by the usages of civilized nations, to reach peace through victory;

for the unequalled maintenance of the national credit, without parallel in history; for the admirable frankness with which the President counsels with the people; and for the successes which are everywhere crowning our arms, the Federal Government deserves and receives the gratitude of all who love their country. It alone, with the help of Providence, can save the life of the Republic. It alone, with the same aid, can preserve us as a nation. If, therefore, anything is left undone, which some think ought to have been done, or anything has been done which some think should have been left undone, we reserve these matters for more opportune discussion in the calmer days of peace. To-day, while armed rebels threaten the Federal capital, and trample flag and law and Constitution under their feet, we come together without distinction of party, in loyal union, and pledge to the Administration, which represents the government of our fathers, our earnest and unconditional support.

These are the principles and this is the policy of the loyal men of Pennsylvania. To represent it they offer to your suffrages our present Governor, Andrew G. Curtin. He needs no eulogy, for he has so borne himself in his high office, that his name is known and honored through all the land, winning the love of the soldiers and the respect and confidence of a patriotic constituency. His great services to the cause of the Union in its most deadly peril, his constant solicitude and care for the brave men he sent to battle, his foresight, his energy, his faithfulness in the discharge of every duty, impelled a grateful people to disregard his declination, and place once more the banner of the Union in his tried and trusty hands.

In the Honorable Daniel H. Agnew a candidate is presented worthy of the support of all men who desire to maintain the

high character for ripe and varied learning, for unsuspected loyalty to the government, and for adherence to the duty of declaring, not making, the law, which our supreme judicial tribunal won and wore in other days. Judge Agnew is an accomplished lawyer, is now the Presiding Judge of his district, and his elevation to the bench of the Supreme Court will give additional security to the rights of persons and property.

Freemen of Pennsylvania: The issue is thus distinctly presented involving the single question of loyalty to the government under which you live, and the triumph of whose arms alone can give you peace, and again open to you the avenues to that almost miraculous prosperity which attracted the wondering gaze of the nations.

It only remains for all good men to perfect the local organizations of the friends of the Union, to secure full discussion of the questions in dispute, to bring every loyal vote to the polls, and to use all proper efforts in their power to secure our success. If this is done, Pennsylvania is saved to the Union, and the Union is saved to us and to our posterity.

Thus we gather for the contest around worthy bearers of a worthy standard, written all over with unconditional loyalty; and under their good leadership we march forward with the faith and hope of Christian men, to the victory which awaits the cause of justice and of freedom.

In behalf of the Union State Central Committee,

WAYNE McVEAGH, Chairman.









